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Losers of modernization or modernization winners?

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Abstract

In this study we explore the links between neoliberalism and the radical right of the modern day. We have examined four party programs and used a Critical Discourse analysis to analyze them. To our help with the Critical Discourse analysis we have used a definition of neoliberalism that was formulated as broad as possible to be able to touch upon as many issues as possible within the party programs. The analysis resulted in two-three out of four of the radical right parties being in support of neoliberal policies. In the conclusions we found a warrant for a new research approach of this issue.

Keywords

Radical right wing parties, Neoliberalism, Critical Discourse analysis, Demand, Supply, International Relations

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1. Introduction

During the past decades the world has seen new radical right-wing parties make impressive electoral gains¹ which, according to Rydberg and Betz, share several distinctions but the arguably most important one is their anti-immigration stance². This xenophobia that the new radical right parties have in common is something that most people today don't feel comfortable to acknowledge that it exists³. This is probably due to the recent experience and knowledge of the colonial era and primarily German Nazism and Italian fascism to mention some evident examples of the approach in practice in recent history. Today we have a dominating universalistic liberal discourse worldwide with lead words such as, freedom and democracy (western-style), who's meaning stands in total contrast to a xenophobic philosophy⁴. Despite the existence of a dominating discourse whose signification stands in contrast to xenophobia radical right parties (RRP's) has gained electoral force in Europe and in many other countries such as Canada, New Zealand and Australia⁵. The academic explanations for this phenomenon have been, amongst other, identifying RRP's as a counter-movement to neoliberalism the post-industrial society. This form of explanation is part of demand-side theory which is one of two dominant types of explanations in the research field. The other one is called supply-side theory⁶. To explain demand-side more in depth it can be said that it represents different factors that have changed the emotions, postures or interests of voters which means that they are not politically satisfied in some manner, whether it's with a certain issue or the whole political system, and therefore *demands* another solution. The most common academic explanations to the demand-factors are macro-structurally influenced and many theories in the field have a focus on "grievance" in common. The theories state that changed macro-structural conditions have led to increased discontent and deprivation among people, which leads voters to find an alternative⁷. In contrast with the demand-side the supply-side theories argue that the focus should be directed to the special conditions of each party in each country, e.g. the social, economic, political and cultural context, in their

¹ Hans-Georg Betz (Summer, 2001 No. 3). *International Journal*, Vol. 56, pp. 393-420

² Rydgren, Jens (2007). *The sociology of the radical right*. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33(1), 241-262, p. 242

³ Wallerstein, Immanuel (2007) *Världssystemanalysen, en analys*. Hågersten: TankeKraft Förlag, p. 68

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 68

⁵ Betz, Hans-Georg & Immerfall, Stefan (red.) (1998). *The new politics of the right: neo-populist parties and movements in established democracies*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. p. 2

⁶ Golder, M, 82003 9Explaining variation in the success of extreme right parties in western Europe, *Comparative Political Studies*, 36: 432

⁷ Rydgren, Jens (2007) p. 247

emergence⁸. So we have an above- and a below-looking theoretical explanation which we will discuss further and in more detail under the theoretical section.

This study acknowledges the importance of joining demand- and supply-side explanations, when researching on general factors that can explain the emergence of the radical right in recent years, because of macro and micro-levels constitutive effect on each other. Demand-side theories were the dominant part in the research fields early era, during the 80's and 90's, but have lost explicatory importance to supply-side theories in recent years due to demand-sides inability to explain similar parties' different electoral success⁹. Because of demand- and supply-side's constitutive effect on each other this study will focus on demand-side factors to show the interdisciplinary importance and for the utilization of this theory for future interdisciplinary research.

2. Problem and Purpose

As mentioned in the introduction there has been a desertion of demand-side theories in recent years and an increased focus on supply-side theories. The focus in demand-side theories lies in the supranational political, economic and cultural structures that affects all countries and therefore is of vital importance to incorporate in the research of the recent year's emergence of the RRP's. Due to the globalized world we live in today, and therefore the larger amount of influences we get, it is important in most research areas to incorporate the smaller, local or national, discourse but also the bigger, global, discourse since they are mutually constitutive. The bigger discourse influences the smaller just as the smaller discourse influences the bigger. The purpose of this study is derived from that view and it is therefore to contribute interdisciplinary and enhance the demand-side explanatory weight in the radical rights electoral success of recent years. Demand-side theories have had a large focus on RRP's as being a form of a counter-movement against neoliberal policies and the post-industrial society. The voters and the members have been portrayed as socially, economically and culturally excluded due to the worldwide societal transformation from neoliberal policies from the 70's and forward¹⁰. We will, in this study, reverse that line of thought and see whether the RRP's policies actually contain neoliberal rhetoric and not, as mainstream

⁸ Mudde, Cas (2010). *The populist radical right: A pathological Normalcy: West European Politics*, 33:6, sid. 1167-1186

⁹ Rydgren, Jens (2007). *The sociology of the radical right*. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33(1), 241-262, p. 252

¹⁰ Betz, Hans-Georg (1994). *Radical right-wing populism in Western Europe*. London: Macmillan, p. 27ff

demand-side theories argue an antagonistic stance against the same. The time wise correlation of the emergence of the new radical right and neo-liberal policies has led many demand-side theorists to conclude that RRP's are of a reactionary art toward the hegemonic neo-liberal discourse¹¹ which leads this study to ask the reverse question due to the parties' progression the last decades. With the help of the following questions and discourse analysis we will examine whether neoliberal ideas are expressed in the parties political programs and in what way.

- How are neoliberal ideas expressed in the RRP's Party Programs?
 - a. Do their own party programs support neoliberal ideas?
 - b. Do their own party programs manifest an antagonistic approach toward neoliberal policies?
 - c. What kind of relationship emerges between the radical right parties and neoliberal policies?

We limit ourselves from examining specific parties and their historical background since we are only looking for neoliberal policies within the party programs. The only selection that has been made in regards to what parties' to include or not to include from a research point of view has been whether or not they can be seen as a RRP. This of course brings limitations to the analysis that we will discuss further under the Critical Discourse Analysis section. Now we will go over to discussing some previous research regarding the RRP's and neoliberalism.

3. Previous research

The academic debate regarding populist radical right-parties in Europe has revolved around two types of explanations, demand-side and supply-side.

3.1 Demand

As mentioned in the introduction demand-side theories take into account factors that have changed the emotions, postures or interests of voters. This means that they are not politically content in some manner, whether it's with a certain issue or the whole system, and therefore demands another solution. Demand-side theories have mostly focused on macro-structural influences such as the post-industrial society's effect, which is built on neo-liberal politics and economics, on the political and social arena in many countries. It has been argued

¹¹ Harvey, David (2005). A brief history of neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press p. 3

that this has narrowed down the political options, for example political parties with different political objectives, which is supposed to be one of the causes to why people have been more inclined to vote for RRP's. The typical voter for an RRP has been determined to be blue-collar, people in low-wage works, who feel left out in today's post-industrial society which characterized by flexible work, an information technology and advanced education requirements¹². So demand-side theories focus on the macro-level influence and take broad economic, historical, and social processes which occur at the national, supranational and global level into account when theorizing about the latest decade's progression of RRP's. As mentioned in the introduction the strength of the demand-side explanations lies in their possibility of explaining similar developments in different contexts, which is why there is knowledge to gain from these theories¹³. The most prominent theories within in the genre have been the "anomie/social breakdown theory" and the "relative deprivation theory". Also we have, the "modernization losers' theory" which in large part is based on the former two theories. They are all in some way connected to grievance theory which focuses on macro-structurally shaped-conditions that in some manner have increased grievances and discontent among the population.

3.1.1 The relative deprivation theory / The social breakdown theory

The "relative deprivation theory" is built on frustration which arises from feelings of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation is caused by disappointing comparisons with one's past or with other social reference groups that enjoy a higher standard than their own group. The "social breakdown theory" states that isolated individuals who live in socially torn down societies are more likely to support and vote for RRP's¹⁴.

3.1.2 The modernization losers' theory

Betz combines the former two theories in the "modernization losers theory" and argues that the emergence of radical right parties electoral success stems from "a profound transformation of the socioeconomic and sociocultural structure of advanced Western European democracies¹⁵". The transition from an industrial to a post-industrial economy has obtained consequences such as dissolution, fragmentation and differentiation. These are the results

¹² Betz, Hans-Georg (1994). p. 35ff

¹³ Mudde, Cas (2007) p. 202f

¹⁴ Rydgren, Jens (2007). p.247ff

¹⁵ Betz, Hans-Georg (1994). p. 26f

of an increased individualization in society due the transformation of the economy¹⁶. The losers of the transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial economy and society are the ones who are unable to adapt to the acceleration of social, economic and cultural modernization¹⁷.

3.2 Supply

Cas Mudde argues that the socio-cultural-economic context is often forgotten in the search of understanding the parties and their emergence. Mudde highlights the importance of studying the parties, their organization, their political issues generally and in electoral faces, high electoral thresholds and majority voting systems that might make it harder for new parties to establish themselves, e.g. contextual circumstances that surround every party¹⁸.

4. Theoretical terms and definitions

4.1 Radical right-wing parties

The debate revolving around the new radical right lacks consensus on core definitions and ideological characteristics which is problematic when trying to conduct research on general traits for the emergence of these parties in the last few decades. First we will start by looking at the term “radical right” and what defines it. Rydberg argues that the definition of the radical right parties is subject to a confusion of the terms, extremism and radical. Rydberg holds that many authors mix up the non-parliamentary-group, which rejects the basic foundation of the democratic state and the other one, the parliamentary-group which is only hostile towards the same institution. Rydberg means that the term extremism is often used widely when describing these parties but should be reserved to the non-parliamentary group who has chosen to be active outside the parliamentary arena and represents a resentment of the democratic political system and its universalistic values. The new radical right is situated by Rydberg in the parliamentary group which is generally not opposed to democracy per se but it holds an antiestablishment stance¹⁹.

Radical right parties are positioned at the right end of the scale mainly because of their priority on sociocultural issues and in that field special attention is given to questions

¹⁶ Betz, Hans-Georg (1994) p. 29

¹⁷ Betz, Hans-Georg (1994) p. 32

¹⁸ Mudde, Cas (2010). p. 1167-1186

¹⁹ Rydgren, Jens (2007). p. 243ff

dealing with national identity²⁰. These ideas are based on the doctrine of ethno-pluralism which state that if a preservation of the unique national character is to be kept the separation of different ethnicities is necessary. A mixing of ethnicities is seen as leading to cultural extinction. According to Rydberg the new radical right-wing parties share characteristics such as ethno-nationalism, a state-perspective and antiestablishment populism. Ethno-nationalism holds that the strengthening of the nation is key and the best way to achieve this is through ethnical homogeneity and by returning to traditional values. The state-perspective is a preference of the state (the collective) before the individual. Antiestablishment populism claims that elites are putting internationalism and self-interests before the needs of the state. On this issue it seems like many authors have reached a rather unified agreement although they refer to the topics in different terms²¹. Cas Mudde for example names the key features of the populist radical right ideology nativism, authoritarianism and populism²² which are fairly similar to those of Rydberg.

4.2 Neoliberalism

Our definition of neoliberalism is a rather broad one in which we have tried to incorporate the general traits in the political theory and practice. The definition will serve as what we look for when analyzing the RRP's party programs to see whether there is any favoring of neoliberal politic or an antagonistic stance against the same. Also, a definition of neoliberalism may not need a historical connection but considering that this study aims for a broad and wide audience it is sufficient to include historical parts. This is done in order to give a wider context for the reader.

Now we will, primarily, summarize briefly the different aspects of neoliberalism and further down in this chapter we will go through a couple of major events that paved the way for neoliberal policies. Thereafter we will discuss the micro and macro-perspective of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism can be seen as a theory of political economic practices which propounds that human well-being can "best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms

²⁰ Betz, Hans Georg & Johnson, Carol (2004) *Against the current – stemming the tide: the nostalgic ideology of the contemporary radical populist right Journal of political ideologies..* (1996-) Abingdon: Carfax, Oct2004, Vol. 9 Issue 3. P. 311-327. p. 232

²¹ Rydgren, Jens (2007). p. 243ff

²² Mudde, Cas (2010). p.1167-1186

and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade”. The main proposals in the neoliberal doctrine have been deregulation, privatization and a down-sizing of the state to a minimum. The neoliberal state’s role is to deliver and preserve an institutional framework which is suitable for such customs. The state’s responsibility is to provide with police, military, defence and legal structures which safeguards private property rights. The state should also guarantee the proper functioning of the market, even with force if so necessary, and has the obligation to guarantee the quality of money. Once markets and the legal framework for it have been created state interventions should be kept to a minimum and no intervening in the market at all is the preferred. In other words, neoliberals believe that it would distort the natural mechanisms of the free market. The fear is that the state will act biased and therefore intervene in the free market for its own benefit or other curtailed favored.

This study defines neoliberalism as the political movement that started, in the 80-90’s, with developments such as the first steps for China towards a liberalization of their communist-ruled economy, Margaret Thatcher was voted in as Prime Minister in the UK 1979 and one year later Ronald Reagan was elected President in the US. These events were followed by a determined shift in politics which, to mention some examples, aimed at curbing union trade power, deregulation and a liberalization of the powers of finance²³.

The concept of neoliberalism is the opposite of the politics that dominated in the western world during the “golden era” after the Second World War. During the “golden era” a restructuring of state forms and international relations took place to prevent a reappearance of the critical conditions that threatened the capitalist order during the depression of the 1930’s. The new political formula needed to be a mixture of capitalism and socialism, or capital and labour, to save the capitalist market and at the same time prevent future inter-state geopolitical rivalries or wars. The new fiscal and monetary policies are mostly known as “Keynesianism” named after its founder John Maynard Keynes. The states focus were on full employment, economic growth and the citizens’ welfare and to achieve these three goals, if so needed, the state should intervene in or even substitute for market processes. This “Keynesian” line of thought is also called “embedded liberalism” due to how the market is surrounded by social and political limitations and a regulatory setting that sometimes restrained and other times led the way in economic and industrial strategy. It was neither unusual that the state, in many

²³ Harvey, David (2005). p. 1ff

countries, engaged in the market in other manners such as in ownership of key sectors such as steel, coal and automobiles²⁴.

Neoliberal influence increased when the “Keynesian” politics started to break down in the 60’s when unemployment, inflation soared due to a serious crisis of capital accumulation. Fiscal crisis appeared in various states due to the plunging of tax revenues and therefore increasing social expenditures. The US dollar had flooded the world and had escaped US control by being deposited in European banks which led to the abandoning of the Gold Standard, the fixed exchange rate, in 1971. Another important catalyst for the furthering of neoliberal policies was when OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) in 1973 inserted an oil embargo and increased the oil prices markedly²⁵. This was in response to the Israeli aggression in the Arab-Israeli war of October 1973 and the oil price tripled in just one year which deepened the already current economic crisis²⁶. A further catalyst for the expansion of neoliberal policy were the structural adjustment programs (SAP’s) which were the large institutions (IMF, WB) solutions to the Third World debt crisis in the 1980’s. The debt crisis was in fact triggered by the OPEC oil embargo. The raising of oil prices created large revenues for the OPEC-members who deposited the profit in private Northern banks. These, in turn, lend the revenues to Third World countries which boosted growth for a while. The Third World crisis occurred when interest rates increased sharply which ended with a lot of countries not being able to pay their debt. The SAP’s were loans which were lend to the indebted countries for their need to pay the first round of loans which came from the OPEC revenues²⁷. The SAP’s also consisted of requirements such as cutbacks in public spending, privatization, tax reductions and export promotion which are typical neoliberal policies for growth creation. The policies contained a belief of a “trickle down-effect” which holds that if tax reliefs are executed for the wealthier in a society this will benefit all since their savings and investment will lead to investment and innovation. This will in the end create wealth for all strata of society, even the lower ones²⁸. This international fiscal and monetary crisis made it possible or necessary for a turn in economic and political policies. A rather united

²⁴ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005). *Neoliberalism: a critical reader*. London: Pluto, p. 20ff

²⁵ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005). p. 60ff

²⁶ McKay, John P. (2007). *A history of world societies*. 7. Ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin p. 1001f

²⁷ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005). p. 95ff

²⁸ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005) p. 135

answer, although in different variations and degrees at the time being, became the neoliberal line of thought which meant to “disembed” the free market from state regulations²⁹.

Neoliberalism presumes, on a microeconomic level, that the state is inefficient and that the market is efficient. Therefore neoliberalism adheres to a line of thought that sees the market as the best manager for economic problems of development such as industrial growth, international competitiveness and job creation. The state ought to be down-sized and only focus on three functions: defense against foreign threats, provision of legal and economic infrastructure for the effective operation of the market and mediation between social groupings for the preserving and expanding of market relations. In a more simplified explanation, the state’s main responsibility lies in creating and preserving an efficient context for the smooth functioning of the market. Neoliberalism proclaims several policies which aim is to reduce the economic role of the state. Common economic policies for this purpose are privatization of companies and property, deregulation of laws and rules that surround the economic sector and extinction of state planning for its otherwise inevitable distortion of the natural mechanisms of the market. “Flexibilisation” of the labour market is an example of a common deregulation. The aim is to increase employment and labour productivity.

“Flexibilisation” includes an simplification of hiring-and-firing regulations, a decentralization of labour relations, a reduction of trade union rights, an elimination of collective agreements and a curtailment of social security benefits. All in all these policies and regulations aim at reducing the economic role of the state through the reduction of political influence in the economy³⁰. This aim can also be seen in the language of neoliberal rhetoric. Today, for example, the expression of “social capital” is well established, which used to be expressed through the term “civil society”. The neoliberal language reflects the policy where the state ought to be depoliticized and the same is aimed for “civil society”. The main focus of neoliberal policy is market economy and therefore an “economization” of the language has followed³¹.

On a macroeconomic level neoliberalism presumes that the world economy consists of capital mobility and an unrelenting advance of globalization. The belief is that these two characterizations offer the possibility of rapid growth through the attraction of foreign direct investments. But this scenario is only possible if the above mentioned state restructuring is

²⁹ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005) p. 70ff

³⁰ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005) p. 113ff

³¹ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005) p. 66

performed, e.g. if domestic policies comply with the interests of the market economy. Otherwise both domestic and foreign capital will be invested elsewhere due to the unfavorable conditions for companies. A lead in this is also to liberalize the foreign trade through the removal of export and import-restrictions for an easier capital flow. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the World Bank (WB) are all influential preachers for the deregulation of international commerce. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, deregulation is advocated in many different spheres such as labour rights, environmental regulation and in the influence of workers unions. The prominence of deregulation is explained with the arguments that it yields economic efficiency which means the maximum possible production on the basis of existing resources³².

One of the essential stand-points of liberalism and neoliberalism is that the individual must be protected from the oppression of the majority. The interests of the individual must take precedence over the interests of the state or a social group. Neoliberalism sees all individual as independent and competent to decide in all matters what the best option is for him/her. Humans are in other words rational. This is reflected in the preferred way of governing in neoliberalism. For example this is shown in a strong focus on decentralization in neoliberal policies where the aim is to bring the “power” closer to the individual³³.

The answer to these crises became neoliberalism which demanded that the welfare state was dismantled due to the inefficiency and unnecessary cost. The state’s primary economic policy was shifted from full employment to keeping the inflation in place³⁴. This has been used as a explanatory factor for the RRP’s that we examine in this study. That the unemployed population that has become permanent, when battling inflation, are part of the “losers of modernization” and therefore resent it and as a response organize themselves into RRP’s and aim at “solving” this problem of foreign influences. In this study we will show that this is not the whole picture. This will be shown with the of a discourse analysis which we will go over to discuss in the following section.

5. Analytical method

5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

³² Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005) p. 113ff

³³ Liedman, Sven-Eric (2002). *Från Platon till kommunismens fall: de politiska idéernas historia*. 13., [omarb.] uppl. Stockholm: Bonnier, p. 167

³⁴ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005) p. 30f

As mentioned earlier, we will apply discourse analysis to the empiric data to be able to answer the study's research questions. One could argue that this study could have used an ideological analysis but due to the standpoint in this study an ideological analysis of the material would not be fruitful because we define neoliberalism as a discourse not as an ideology. Because neoliberalism influences all social, political and economical spheres in western societies (and most societies in the rest of the world) and therefore it is qualitatively different from an ideological concept which is mainly incorporated in politics, as we define ideology³⁵. Also there is a good argument to make that RRP's and mainstream parties have different (political) ideologies. It would not be adequate to analyze the problems relevant for this study from this ideological perspective because it would miss the overlaying hegemonic discourse in western society which influences all political parties and their ideologies.

We will define, first and foremost, what this study intend with the concept of *discourse*. A basic definition to the term *discourse* can be described as according to Jørgensen and Phillips; "a certain way of speaking and understanding the world (or a part of the world)"³⁶, [Authors translation]. A common standpoint in the different approaches of discourse analysis is that the way we speak do not neutrally reflect our environment, our identities and our social relationships without playing an active part in the creation and the transformation of the same. The discourse, commonly accepted norms and values regarding a certain issue, shape us and create our view on the environment, identities and social relationships but we also change and transform our view on the environment, identities and social relationships and thereby the discourse. This means that discourses are mutually constitutive, they effect and create us but we also change and transform the discourse³⁷.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) contains a wide range of different approaches when it comes what defines a discourse and how to analyze them. But the main purpose of CDA is to perform critical research that aims at mapping and exploring power relations in society and "formulate normative perspectives wherefrom you can form a critique of these relations and point to possibilities to social change". Sid. 7-8. The CDA method is an interpretative form of analysis which leads to the results being open for criticism based on the readers own interpretation of the material. This places a great responsibility on the researcher to be as

³⁵ Bergström, Göran & Boréus, Kristina (2000). *Textens mening och makt: metodbok I samhällsvetenskaplig textanalys*. Lund: Studentlitteratur). p. 149 (We define ideology as a system of ideas (political

³⁶ Winther Jørgensen, Marianne & Phillips, Louise (2000). *Diskursanalys som teori och metod*. Lund: Studentlitteratur p. 7

³⁷ Winther Jørgensen, Marianne & Phillips, Louise (2000), p. 67f

transparent as possible with the analysis and the conclusion of the material. In our study we will limit the aim to only discover discourse within our material of analysis. This is in large extent a very limited discourse analysis and we will focus our analytical section to only discussing analytical terms relevant for this particular study. Fairclough means that text analysis alone is not enough to reveal power relations rather we also need to link the social context of the produced text to the analysis³⁸. As just mentioned, we limit ourselves from this part of the CDA due to the RRP's different social context which wouldn't be possible to establish in the timeframe for this study.

Usually when employing a Critical Discourse Analysis, on text material, a great focus is put into studying the symbols, signs of the text and the world views and commonsense-values of the text-producer and the text-consumer. This thorough and wide form of text analysis is executed with the aim of revealing underlying undertones which are often bypassed in other forms of text analysis where it's more common to focus on the simple content of the text. We will not per se define neoliberal symbols which will be searched for in the party programs. In this study the symbolic sphere of the CDA is not crystallized rather they are left within the neoliberal thought pattern in our definition. This means that typical neoliberal symbols will still be analyzed but not in the "conventional" term of CDA. As an example, the term "freedom" could be used as a symbol but we will rather include it in our definition of neoliberalism and use it as an indication of neoliberal rhetoric. Hence a modified version of CDA will be employed in this study which is partly due to a lack of material and also a lack of experience on the behalf of the researcher. We will as far possible describe how this CDA version will differ from a "conventional" CDA.

For this study this will in practical terms mean that we will "dissect" the arguments and the rhetoric of the RRP's in their party programs. This means we will use large amounts of quotes that we will discuss in our analysis. Now we will go over to discuss the practical implementation of the CDA.

5.2 Practical implementations of Critical Discourse Analysis

We will divide the party programs into sections to try and systematize the material and simplify the refereeing for the reader. We will take help from Norman Fairclough and his model of dividing the text into headline, lead, paragraph and summary, which he uses when

³⁸ Winther Jørgensen, Marianne & Phillips, Louise (2000) p. 72

analyzing news articles³⁹. Although the party programs are not news articles they still follow a similar type of structure. Each topic that the parties discuss in their program starts with a headline that typically announces the theme of the section or the most important information regarding the topic. This differs a bit between parties, in some instances there are several headlines in a page with one being the main-headline with several sub-headlines. This will be indicated when we reference quotes. Thereafter follows the lead which further develops the main problem or proposal of the topic and usually contains the main arguments of the issue. After the lead follows a number of paragraphs which expresses the problem or proposal further and elaborates the party's opinion in the matter. Sometimes the texts also offers some form of summary in the end which is exactly what the term describes, a summary of the topic. This is not used by all of the party's but when a summary is referenced this will be indicated.

Example of analysis

Now follows an illustrative example of how the analysis will be done even though it is a very limited example. It's an illustrative example for the readers and a help in understanding how the analysis will be done. The analysis will not take use of the whole party programs or every section on each policy field. Due to the limitations for the study we will not be able to fully reproduce the text that is used for analysis but we will use illustrative short quotes.

We will reference quotes as following: PP 1:2:3:4:5, PP is short for Progress Party and a complete list of abbreviations of the party names will be presented before the analysis. The numbers stands for: 1. page number: 2. main-headline: 3. sub-headline: 4. lead: 5. paragraph. If some of these categories are lacking they will still be counted but they will be counted as a 0. Each paragraph is counted from the nearest main- or sub-headline.

Now we will show how we will interpret by giving two examples of analysis. One example that is in support of neoliberal policies and one that is antagonistic towards neoliberal policies.

This quote is taken from the Progress Party

³⁹ Fairclough, Norman (1995). *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold. p. 85f

“The free market economy is an essential requirement for the individual’s freedom of choice. Only the individual’s freedom to choose between different goods, services and political ideas ensures individual freedom. The consequences of one’s choices are the responsibility of the individual. The free market and democracy are therefore inseparably intertwined⁴⁰.”

In this quote we can see that the PP does not make any distinction between the free market and democracy. Rather they see the free market as a prerequisite for a functional democracy, in other words the free market will enable the population to live in a democratic society through their ability to choose on a free market. There is also a strong focus on individuals in contrast to an idea of society as a whole in a democratic state. This leaves few doubts that their values on democracy are based in neoliberal policies.

This quote is taken from the Freedom Party

“People’s right to life, health and dignity are not subject to utilitarian considerations. Therefore, a person’s existence may never be called into question by economic considerations...⁴¹”

Here we have a quote that is antagonistic against neoliberal policies. In this political area FPÖ takes no consideration to that the market would be the best guarantor of a good health care for the public. One could argue that the health care would be funded by the government but performed by private actors and it would be a form of neoliberal approach but instead they take on a position that a human being (through health care) cannot be treated as a commodity.

As mentioned before, due to limitations in the study we will not do a complete analysis of the RRP’s party programs. Instead we will focus our analysis on some subjects that all RRP’s have in common and discuss in their party programs. The subjects they have in common are the following;

- Market economy
- Freedom (individual)
- National and cultural identity
- Health-care
- Property

⁴⁰ PP 5:1:7:0:1

⁴¹ FPÖ 11:1:0:1:1

- Role of the state

Definition of categories:

Most of the parties have these categories as headlines themselves which makes it easy to create categories out of their own definitions. Not all categories are labeled as headlines in the parties own programs but they discuss them to a certain length. The categorization has been made for the simplification of comparing the parties. If we want to compare the RRP's to see if they're in support or antagonistic towards neoliberal policies we must have some common variables, that they all discuss, to evaluate them after. We will use the broadest possible definition for each category so that we can see each party's view on that specific category. When necessary a differentiation within a category will be explicitly shown and discussed.

6. Empiric material

Since election dates differ between countries this study aims to look at RRP's that in 2013 holds seats in their parliament or government. This is because this study is interested in the electoral success for RRP's that has evolved since the 1980s and therefore will not examine extremist right-wing parties. As addressed earlier in the definition regarding the RRP's this group does not accept the governmental structure or constitution of the country they operate in and therefore they are not part of the phenomenon examined in this study. The emergence of RRP's has been seen all over the world, according to Betz in Europe, New Zealand, Canada, United States and India to mention some places⁴². The phenomenon is thus global but this study will focus on radical right parties in Europe that have progressed as they hold, in this moment, seats in the parliament or the government. The study limits itself from including, for example, the United States and the United Kingdom in the research which is due to their much higher electoral threshold. Both the United States and the United Kingdom have a non-proportional voting system with a majority vote with a simple majority. This means, to illustrate it easily but also in an extreme way, that if "party 1" beats "party 2" with just one vote in each district, which is a very even share of votes divided between the parties, "party 1" still takes all the seats and "party 2" will get no seats because of the simple majority. This type of system can easily encourage one-party governments with a clear majority in the parliament⁴³. Their electoral system is a typical supply-side factor for why radical right parties have not made government in these countries. The thesis of this study may be valid in the UK

⁴² Betz, Hans-Georg & Immerfall, Stefan (red.) (1998). p. 2

⁴³ Hague, Rod, Harrop, Martin & Breslin, Shaun (2000). *Styrelseskick och politik*. Nora: Nya Doxa

and the U.S as well but we will not incorporate them in this study because of the non-electoral success for RRP's in the two countries.

We will examine party programs or policy documents because they focus on the parties' ideological core and political aims. In some cases, as with the Dansk Folkeparti, the result ended on a shorter policy document since the party couldn't provide any party program translated into English. The policy document consisted of two pages and thereof didn't seem adequate for analysis. The preference of party programs or policy documents rather than, for example, election manifestos lies in the risk of the latter being inflated with electoral promises and being focused on contemporary specific topics that are currently debated in relation to the election.

After e-mailing all existing radical right parties in Europe, according to Mudde's list in the book the *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*⁴⁴ the practical selection consists of the PP – the Progress Party, the SD – the Sweden Democrats, the SVP – the Swiss People's Party and the FPÖ – the Freedom Party of Austria. The selection was first based on Mudde's list and then came a practical selection. The final selection, the practical, of parties was due to the fact that many parties did not answer and some parties did answer but could not provide an English version of their party program. The parties included in this study are some of the parliamentary strong parties from Mudde's list which make their impact stronger in their respective countries.

In the study we used the latest version of each party program which are:

- The Progress Party's principles 2009-2013
- Sverigedemokraternas principprogram 2011 (The Sweden Democrat's principle program 2011)
- SVP Party Programme 2011-2015
- Party Programme of the Freedom Party of Austria 2011

7. Analysis

We will divide our analysis according to the topics that the RRP's have in common. In each topic we will show examples that touch upon the research questions:

⁴⁴ Mudde, Cas (2007) p. 305-308

- Do their own party programs support neoliberal ideas?
- Do their own party programs manifest an antagonistic approach toward neoliberal policies?

After this review, we will summarize and discuss our final research question:

- What kind of relationship emerges between the radical right parties and neoliberal policies?

All translations to English from Swedish are made by the author.

7.1 Market economy

We start by analyzing the PP and their rhetoric which is rather explicit when it comes to political statements and solutions, which is illustrated in the following quote. “A free market economy also pre-supposes free trade between countries. The Progress Party will remove import and export restrictions and other trade barriers⁴⁵.” The abolition of trade restrictions between countries is something that is often propagated for within neoliberal policy with the aim of deregulating trade as much as possible for the efficiency of managing business and creating wealth. PP also shows a clear favoring of companies and enterprises right to existence over the individual or the collective right, partly shown in the following quote when PP discusses means of achieving an effective labour market. “It will also be in the employer’s interest to contribute to safeguarding workplaces in Norway through temporary adjustment of wages and working conditions. Through company settlements, wages will be better adapted to the company’s ability to generate income...⁴⁶.” Here, the PP opts for the companies’ right to adjust the workers’ wages after market cycles and hence places the importance of an efficient free market over the labour’s secure income. This is an example of a common neoliberal policy which favors flexible labour for the benefit of making companies adjustable to the changing currents of the market. Flexible labour can be equal with monthly employment, hourly employment e.g. casual employment which is favored in neoliberal policies instead of a form of permanent employment. The other part of the PP rhetoric that puts the free market in preference over the individual or the collective is illustrated in the following quote. “The Progress Party considers that it is, first and foremost, the individual’s

⁴⁵ PP 6:1:0:0:2

⁴⁶ PP 7:1:0:0:8

task to find work, based on their own conditions and education as well as the market's requirement for manpower⁴⁷.” It's the individuals' responsibility to adapt itself to be available to the free market. Here, the securing of a functional free market is primarily prioritized before, for example, seeing to that there is a sufficient amount of decent work for the individuals, the population. “Employment must be concentrated primarily in value-adding work and a deregulated labour market will best safeguard this goal⁴⁸.” Here they discuss the core of the neoliberal thought that trade shall bring prosperity. They further crystallize themselves as neoliberal when pointing out that on the one hand the production should be value-adding instead of regular production of goods and that the labour-market needs to be without regulation.

The SD advocates a form of market economy with a social responsibility. “ansvarsfull, reglerad marknadsekonomi, byggd på långsiktigt tänkande...tillväxt är nödvändigt för att kunna upprätthålla vår välfärd, men måste balanseras mot viktiga samhällsvärden såsom folkhälsa, kulturarv, miljö, socialt kapital...⁴⁹” (responsible, regulated market economy, built on long-term thinking...growth is necessary to be able to maintain our welfare, but must be balanced against important social values such as public health, cultural heritage, environment, social capital). SD voices a opinion that the benefit of a market economy is growth creation which in turn establishes welfare but also highlights that regulations are necessary, for example, so that “de anställdas välmående får inte äventyras av kortsiktiga vinstintressen⁵⁰,”

(the well-being of the employees must not be jeopardized by short-term profit motives.) SD takes both the employee and the employer into consideration which is illustrated in the following quote. “Hög grad av stabilitet på arbetsmarknaden är en bra grund för nöjda löntagare och ett produktivt näringsliv. Stabilitet förutsätter en god balans mellan arbetsmarknadens parter vilket i sin tur förutsätter en väl avvägd kompromiss mellan å ena sidan löntagarnas intresse av trygghet, god arbetsmiljö och goda försörjningsmöjligheter och å andra sidan arbetsgivarnas intresse av handlingsfrihet och tillväxtpmöjligheter.⁵¹”(High degree of stability in the labor market is a good foundation for content employees and a productive economy. Stability requires a good balance between the labor markets parties which in turn requires a balanced compromise between on the one hand the employees interest in security,

⁴⁷ PP 7:1:0:0:7

⁴⁸ PP 7:1:0:0:9

⁴⁹ SD 24:1:0:0:1

⁵⁰ SD 25:1:0:0:7

⁵¹ SD 25:1:0:0:2

good working environment and good livelihoods and on the other hand employers' interest of freedom of action and growth opportunities.) The SD's rhetoric regarding the market economy focuses further on the relationship between the market and the employee. The SD expresses that the economy cannot be seen as something separated from other societal spheres and thereof highlights that: "Ekonomin bärs inte upp av likriktade, anonyma produktionsenheter utan av tänkande, kännande och kulturellt präglade människor⁵²." (The economy is not built upon rectified, anonymous production units but of thinking, sensing and culturally incused human beings.) Even though the SD discusses a concern regarding how the economy makes people into anonymous production units they sometimes use a rhetorical language that resembles language used within neoliberal policies. "En ansvarsfull ekonomisk politik måste således vara inriktad på att långsiktigt bevara och stärka en hög nivå av socialt kapital⁵³." (A responsible economic policy must therefore be focused on long-term preservation and enhancement of a high level of social capital.) The expression of "social capital" is often used in neoliberal rhetoric and applied instead of the more traditional democratic expression "civil society". The term is used in a manner to depoliticize civil society and in extension it becomes a depoliticizing of the state, which is in line with neoliberal policies⁵⁴. Regarding their rhetoric on market economy the SD can't be read as neoliberal but there are some indications when looking at their choice of words as, for example, by using the term "social capital" instead of "civil society".

The SVP starts their paragraph, regarding market economy by stating that: "Thirty years ago, Switzerland was one of the most consistently market-oriented countries in the world⁵⁵." The SVP's reminiscent way of describing an old Switzerland that used to much more market-oriented (neoliberal) shows a possible indication of a positive view on free market policies. They go on to say: "Switzerland has fallen steadily behind in the race... we have missed many opportunities to liberalise and privatise, preferring instead consistently to expand the social welfare and redistribution system⁵⁶." (sic) Here SVP makes a point that Switzerland actually missed opportunities to further liberalize the market and position themselves as antagonistic against a welfare system. "The reason that Singapore and the US have overtaken us is that in those countries, the state is small and decentralized⁵⁷." In this last quote SVP gives examples

⁵² SD 24:1:0:0:6

⁵³ SD 25:0:0:0:1

⁵⁴ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005). p. 66

⁵⁵ SVP 23:1:0:1:2

⁵⁶ SVP 23:1:0:1:2

⁵⁷ SVP 23:1:0:1:2

of countries that they perceive as good examples, an Asian-tiger and the “home” of neoliberalism. Their rhetoric and their reasoning leave few doubts that they take a clear and firm stand in support of neoliberal policies in regards to their view on market economy. They illustrate this by continuously advocating for lower taxes and propagating for deregulation throughout their presentation regarding market economy policies.

Now we go over to the FPÖ that says that: “We are committed to a market economy with social responsibility, promote a focus on performance and facilitate growth for small and medium-sized businesses⁵⁸.” The language of FPÖ is less explicit, compared to SVP, and they rhetorically combine their orientation towards market economy with, something they describe as, a social responsibility. But at a broader examination of their text we can notice that this is possibly just a charade. When looking at their policies their social responsibilities are supposed to appear as a consequence of the implementation of certain neoliberal policies, which is illustrated in the following quote. “Low taxes and performance incentives are crucial for successful business and a healthy labour market. These shall take precedence over subsidies and redistribution⁵⁹,” They have a nice rhetoric regarding social responsibility: “equality in working salaries⁶⁰”, “best living conditions in freedom”, “equal opportunities⁶¹,” etc, but the rhetoric is not followed by concrete ways of achieving their aims but rather kept in an abstract wording, especially compared to their rhetoric regarding market economy: “Start-up aids and tax reliefs”, “Low taxes⁶²”, “taxes and charges for employers...should be reduced⁶³,”. When it comes to market economy we can see that the ways to achieve the goals are clearly formulated and ready to be implemented in contrast to their description of social responsibility which is just put in nice wording.

7.2 Freedom (individual)

The PP initiates their section freedom, in their party program, with a clear neoliberal connotation, since neoliberal policies first and foremost sees society as composed of individuals. “People exist firstly as individuals, and not as a collective group⁶⁴.” They further develop their view on personal freedom as ultimately fulfilled when totally exposed to an

⁵⁸ FPÖ 9:1:0:1:1

⁵⁹ FPÖ 9:1:0:1:5

⁶⁰ FPÖ 9:1:0:1:6

⁶¹ FPÖ 9:1:0:1:3

⁶² FPÖ 9:1:0:1:5

⁶³ FPÖ 9:1:0:1:7

⁶⁴ PP 5:1:3:0:1

existing free market.” The free market economy is an essential requirement for the individual’s freedom of choice. Only the individual’s freedom to choose between different goods, services and political ideas ensures individual freedom⁶⁵.” In this quote PP illustrates how their view on individual freedom firstly is coherent with the free market and how the individual is inseparable from it. As opposed to, for example, connecting individuals’ freedom to the state. The PP connect it to a form of materialism by expressing, firstly, that the individual’s freedom is dependent on the opportunity of freely choosing between goods and services. Note also, in the former quote, how the “material” aspect of the market economy, “different goods”, is mentioned before “political ideas”. The priority of words gives us an indication of what the party sees as primarily important for their form of personal freedom.

The SD’s view on personal freedom is built upon a discussion regarding biological inheritance, the inherited difference between people, which shows a rather essentialist view. ”Vår uppfattning är snarare att människan är både konstruktiv och destruktiv...⁶⁶” (Our view is rather that man is both constructive and destructive.) This line of thought further cristallizes in this quote: “Sverigedemokraterna står för en mer nyanserad och därmed också en mer realistisk människosyn...vi tror inte på teorin om att människor föds som blanka blad...Miljön har visserligen en stor betydelse för individens utveckling och samspelar ofta med det biologiska arvet och den fria viljan.⁶⁷” (The Sweden Democrats stands for a more nuanced and therefore also a more realistic humanitarian view...we do not believe in the theory that people are born as blank sheets...The environment does have a significant impact on individual development and frequently interacts with the biological heritage and the free will) Here we see the SD diverge from the neoliberal thinking of the individual as having the same opportunity to create prosperity for themselves. Instead the SD sees an inherited difference in individuals, that individuals have different prerequisites for obtaining the same prosperity which is in contrast to neoliberal thinking. The SD’s view on individual freedom includes a higher degree of state restriction than what is the case in neoliberal practice. ”De flesta människor har ett behov av både individuell frihet och kollektiv samhörighet och vi menar att det är politikens uppgift att ta hänsyn till och balansera dessa ibland motstridiga intressen.⁶⁸” (Most people have a need for both individual freedom and collective belonging and we believe that it is the task of politic to consider and balance these sometimes conflicting

⁶⁵ PP 5:1:7:0:1

⁶⁶ SD 7:0:0:0:5

⁶⁷ SD 6:1:0:0:6

⁶⁸ SD 7:0:0:0:2

interests.) Here we can see that the SD has a different view on individual freedom, in contrast to for example the PP, who sees the individual as responsible, capable and in their right of making all kinds of choices for themselves. The individual freedom, according to the SD, is in need of state involvement which stands in contrast to neoliberal thinking where individual freedom is ensured by a minimum of state involvement in the citizens' lives.

SVP connects the concept of personal freedom to the safeguarding of the individual from extensive government and centralization. The emphasis in the text lays in the personal freedom from being threatened by higher powers, as for example "political committees, courts, international organizations and civil servants⁶⁹", than the individual. Thereby, SVP connects personal freedom to decentralization, which is usually promoted in neoliberal policy. "Instead of granting citizens the freedom to make their own judgments, our public authorities increasingly act as their moral guardians. But our state is not a moral institution, but rather an association entered into for the sole purpose of creating and maintaining the rule of law⁷⁰."

As mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph, SVP explains rather what they see as threatening to the individual freedom than what they see as constituting it. But what can be read out from it is that, as in neoliberal policies, the state should maintain the rule of law and not meddle in individual choices as long as their allowed by law. Big state bureaucracy is seen as the main threat against freedom and the individuals' opportunity to choose freely, which is in line with neoliberal policies.

The FPÖ discusses very briefly the concept of freedom but they mention, primarily, the subject of freedom as: "our most valued asset⁷¹." They however connect the subject of personal freedom differently than PP and take a stand against the connection of personal freedom being dependent or constitutive with the opportunity of being able to freely choose goods on a free market. "Our concept of freedom is rooted in an idealistic belief where people are not tied down by their material needs⁷²." But FPÖ, however, also evokes typical neoliberal connotations which are shown in the following quote. "The dignity of man is rooted in his freedom. Freedom in the form of self-determination goes hand-in-hand with the desire to assume responsibility...⁷³". This line of thought connects with the neoliberal idea of the

⁶⁹ SVP 15:1:0:1:1

⁷⁰ SVP 15:1:0:1:3

⁷¹ FPÖ 3:1:0:1:0

⁷² FPÖ 3:1:0:1:2

⁷³ FPÖ 3:1:0:1:1

individual as self-determined and thereof is fully responsible for her/his choices, good or bad, and thereby her/his life.

7.3 National and cultural identity

The PP's part regarding national identity has a strong focus on subsidiary and decentralization – bringing political power closer to the people. “The Progress Party will reinforce municipal self-determination in combination with increased user influence and delegation of power to local political bodies.⁷⁴” They also connect the state and its proper functioning to market economy which is illustrated in the following quote: “The democratic constitutional state requires both democratic state rule and a system based on a free market economy. Only the market economy can ensure the distribution of power on which a democratic state depends⁷⁵.”

In previous quotes we can see a referring to neoliberal policies such as decentralization and a market economy influenced state. When they further discuss the Norwegian cultural identity it's first and foremost expressed that it should be free from stately involvement. “The Progress Party wants cultural life to develop as much as possible without public financing and intervention.⁷⁶” The PP's view on cultural funding is found in the voluntary sector.

“Conditions must be adapted for sports organizations so that they can base their operations as far as possible on money raised from voluntary work and other voluntary efforts for members.⁷⁷” In the end of the cultural identity part of their party program the PP discusses their view on the media. “A country's press is not independent if it depends on state support... The Progress Party sees a risk that the press' critical attitude towards state control could be tempered as a result of receiving state subsidies.⁷⁸” The PP also expresses, regarding the media, that they: “would like free competition without financial contributions from the state⁷⁹”. When it comes to cultural identity the PP expresses a concern with the range of the state whether it's regarding sports clubs or the media. They wish to see a down-sizing of the state through removal of subsidies which is in line with neoliberal policies.

When talking about the nation the SD speaks about an internal “we” which is in contrast to the neoliberal idea of the individual. But when discussing the identity of the external it's on an individual level where the individual bares the responsibility. And when looking at the culture

⁷⁴ PP 6:0:1:0:1

⁷⁵ PP 5:1:2:0:3

⁷⁶ PP 11:1:0:0:1

⁷⁷ PP 11:1:0:0:5

⁷⁸ PP 11:1:0:0:7

⁷⁹ PP 11:1:0:0:8

part of the party program they express a preference for a welfare model financed severally which is in contrast to their other political policies which are more in tune with a neoliberal idea of a dismantled limited state. We can see that they express an idea of non-intervention and to an extent isolationism in regards to the world out there. “Vi vill naturligtvis inte att de kulturer som är dåliga på att skapa drägliga levnadsvillkor helt skall försvinna utan endast att de av egen kraft skall göra sig av med de för mänskligheten destruktiva aspekterna⁸⁰.” (We certainly do not want that those cultures who are bad at creating decent living conditions is to disappear completely but only that they out of own strength dispose of these for humanity destructive aspects.) In this quote they also take a position of distinctiveness between the cultures, that some culture can be higher valued than others. The SD first discuss that:

“nationalism är universell i den bemärkelsen att vi tillerkänner alla nationer i världen samma grundläggande frihet och samma rättigheter som vi kräver för vår egen nation⁸¹,” (nationalism is universal in the sense that we recognize all the nations of the world have the same basic freedom and rights that we demand for our own nation). But later in the text the SD conclude that: ”Det är uppenbart så att vissa kulturer är bättre än andra på att slå vakt om grundläggande mänskliga rättigheter, skapa demokrati och materiellt välstånd...detta gör att dessa kulturer, i våra ögon är bättre än de kulturer som inte vill eller förmår att skapa goda levnadsvillkor för de människor som lever i dem⁸².” (It is obvious that some cultures are better than others at safeguarding basic human rights, create democracy and material wealth ...

this makes these cultures, in our eyes better than those cultures that do not want or are able to create good living conditions for the people who live in them.) This all in all show a community based rhetoric, with a focus on the “we”, when discussing the own nation or culture and an individualistic view when discussing other nations or cultures. So in a sense we can see the SD having a neoliberal approach when it comes to other nations or cultures but a solidarity approach when it comes to the own nation or culture, the “we”. Although we can't establish a neoliberal rhetoric by the SD regarding the national and cultural identity we can connect the previous quotes to a classic liberal rhetoric and its thought of the developed ”we” and the underdeveloped “other”. This line of thought is derived out of the concept of universalism which we can see have influenced the SD's rhetoric in the usage of terms such as, human rights and democracy.

⁸⁰ SD 15:0:0:0:4

⁸¹ SD 10:1:0:0:6

⁸² SD 15:0:0:0:3

The SVP makes a clear neoliberal connection when it comes to their views on national culture and that is that it should be strictly handled privately. “One of the goals of a free and federal state is to foster an intellectual climate in which culture can flourish in all its many and varied forms. It must never be dictated or ordained as “state culture”.⁸³” When the SVP is discussing national identity there is a strong focus on individuality and decentralization. “We are united by our commitment to a system based on independence, federalism, direct democracy, permanent neutrality and subsidiarity.⁸⁴” This in turn would lead to a rather weak state which would resemble the watchman-state. Also in the quote, we can see a fear of the majority oppressing the individual. This is expressed in the description of their preferred governance. The previous quotes, as mentioned, show a strong preference of describing or seeing the national identity in an individual-view instead of referring to a national “we”. Politics should be executed and run on as low level as possible, near the individual. This view also emerges when the SVP are discussing their national identity in relation to the outer world. “Our nation has always fared well when it has looked to its unique status rather than imitating others or <<harmonizing>> with international organizations.” “Switzerland...continues to go its own, independent way, amidst an <<integrated>> European Union.⁸⁵” There is a strong preference, in the part that discusses national and cultural identity in the SVP’s party program, for the individual when discussing the internal identity of the nation. But the individualistic approach when discussing the national identity in relation with the external world is not in line with neoliberal universalism since co-operation or influence from other nations or organizations are seen as threatening towards the own identity.

The FPÖ, when comparing to the SD, illustrates a national, cultural “we” which they define as colored by their German roots and further by European values which are based in “Christianity...humanism...Enlightenment⁸⁶.” The external world outside of Europe isn’t mentioned except when hinting towards threats against the own nation or Europe. “We are prepared to put up a resolute defence of these European values and our basic liberal-democratic order against fanaticism and extremism⁸⁷.” [sic] The previous quote shows that the national or cultural “we” that the FPÖ presents is clearly non universalistic since other cultures outside of the own and the European isn’t discussed. Thereby, other cultures, are

⁸³ SVP 109:1:0:1:0

⁸⁴ SVP 11:1:0:1:0

⁸⁵ SVP 12:0:0:0:3

⁸⁶ FPÖ 4:1:0:1:6

⁸⁷ FPÖ 4:1:0:1:7

probably seen as inferior to the own nation or culture of having capacity of achieving universalistic core tenets such as human rights and democracy. The universalistic idea is that politics can be guided by universally based principles, which are western liberal ideas, which are achievable by all people. Had the FPÖ expressed a superiority over other nations and cultures but also granted them the possibility of achieving the same standard as the own nation and culture it would have been a classic liberal rhetoric based in universalism. But the FPÖ is not discussing any neoliberal policies when discussing their view of the national and cultural identity but rather expresses suspiciousness against nations and cultures outside of Europe which is not in line with neoliberal policies ideas of, for example, globalism.

7.4 Health-care

The health-care part of the PP's party program was rather short but the essence of the section is that health-care services should be publicly funded but it is not interesting who executes the service. "The individual should be able to choose between different places of treatment and care services, both public and private. People must be given the power to discontinue services they are dissatisfied with⁸⁸." Although the PP wants the health-care to be funded by the state it still means that it will be exposed to the forces of market. Further in the text the PP states that: "We would like the excess patient's contribution to be kept at a moderate level.⁸⁹" So here we can see that the PP is influenced by neoliberal policies regarding the exposure of the health-care sector to the free market but they still want it to be stately funded and not totally exposed to the mechanisms of the free market economy.

The SD's initiates their part regarding health-care by discussing the welfare-model and "folkhemstanken⁹⁰". They discuss the importance of solidarity between citizens if the welfare-model is to be functional. The implementation of solidarity is to prevent misappropriation of common funds which means that citizens won't abuse the welfare system by taking subsidies when not in need. "Stat och kommun skall stå för finansieringen och tillsynen av vården...men när det gäller utförandet av dessa välfärdstjänster skall alternativa och privata

⁸⁸ PP 9:1:0:0:4

⁸⁹ PP 9:3:0:0:4

⁹⁰ "Folkhemstanken" is a Swedish welfare model built on a combination of capitalism and socialism. Formed before the Second World War and realized after the Second World War. Myhrman, J (1994) *Hur Sverige blev rikt*, Stockholm: SNS förlag, chapter 4-5.

Eklund, K (2005) *Vår Ekonomi, en introduktion till samhällsekonomi*, Nordstedts akademiska förlag, Värnamo, p. 380ff

driftsformer vara tillåtna⁹¹.” (Central and local government should be responsible for the financing and oversight of the health-care ... but when it comes to the execution of these welfare services, alternative and private modes of operation should be allowed) Here we can see that they keep a large welfare state but they want to adapt it to a neoliberal model. We can see this when they want to sell the welfare service to the lowest bidder but still finance it through governmental funds.

The SVP criticizes the compulsory national health insurance law for the increasing premium-costs for the citizens and the incorporation of unnecessary medical treatment and medical areas in the insurance policies. “The problem is also that... services that used to be available only to those who paid for them themselves are now included in the official list under the pretext of <<social justice>>⁹².” Instead of the national health insurance policies the SVP propagates for a down-sizing of the responsibilities of the state in the health-care sector. They, instead, express a need for a health-care operating under the mechanisms of market. “The

KVG (the national health insurance law) needs urgent reform to bring it closer in line with the dictates of the market. The interests of patients should be the main-focus...⁹³” The previous quote and the following show a rhetoric that is slanting toward neoliberal policies regarding the health-care. The SVP characterizes this in their wish to re-model the health-care sector after the needs and wants of the individual and their wallets. “Instead of relying on mature citizens to take their own decisions, health fanatics want to interfere in the cantons’ responsibility for health issues⁹⁴.”

FPÖ takes a slightly different approach, than the previous mentioned parties, to the health-care system and propagates for a public health-care solely. “People’s right to life, health and dignity are not subject to utilitarian considerations. Therefore, a person’s existence may never be called into question by economic considerations...⁹⁵” They see public health care as the mode of avoiding an unequal health care which instead of being operated out of equality is dependent under different social variables. “We are committed to the political goal of avoiding multi-class medical care in public health care. Public health care must rule out privileges based on social origin or religious orientation.⁹⁶” Even though public health care

⁹¹ SD 27:0:0:03

⁹² SVP 81:1:0:1:1

⁹³ SVP 83:0:0:0:1

⁹⁴ SVP 83:0:0:0:2

⁹⁵ FPÖ 11:1:0:1:1

⁹⁶ FPÖ 11:1:0:1:2

seems to be the preferred, when they further discuss, a form of critique or want is formulated. “Administration and organization in health care must be based on the principles of frugality, economic efficiency and expedience... we are committed to a financing structure for health care that avoids high incidental wage costs where possible, and ensures a broad payment of contributions⁹⁷.” Here they make allusions towards a big bureaucratic state that needs to be downsized. We can see that the values regarding how the health-care should be are idealistic but the rhetoric regarding the actions to arrive at these idealistic goals is more influenced by a neoliberal rhetoric. It can’t be fully determined that the rhetoric is neoliberal but it is a rapprochement towards it.

7.5 Property

The Progress Party leaves no illusions regarding their neoliberal view on private property right which is seen as an individual right. “The Progress Party considers the right to own property an overarching principle, and is opposed to interference with the right to private ownership⁹⁸.” We see that there is a fundamental stand that ownership is a basic right and that there should be no taxation on ownership. “Property should not be taxable. This is an anti-social taxation that hits people regardless of ability to pay⁹⁹.” They take their stand from the playbook of neoliberalism in so far as that one of the fundamental principles of society is private ownership and that the state should not interfere with the private ownership, meaning no taxation.

Unlike the other RRP’s the Swedish Democrats does not have a separate section for “private property” and the discussing of private property is rather slim. “Sverigedemokraterna betraktar äganderätten som en nödvändig förutsättning för en lyckosam samhällsutveckling.¹⁰⁰” (The Sweden Democrats considers ownership as a prerequisite for a successful community development). After this statement the SD does not develop this line of thought and what it’s based on. What we instead can find in different sections of the party program is the two quotes stated below. The SD in comparison with the SVP, takes on a different view on “social housing” where those belonging to the lower stratum of society is not to be dependent of the free market which was the view of the SVP.

”Sverigedemokraternas bedömning är att marknaden inte ensam kan garantera alla

⁹⁷ FPÖ 11:1:0:1:4

⁹⁸ PP 5:1:4:0:1

⁹⁹ PP 5:1:4:0:2

¹⁰⁰ SD 24:1:0:0:1

medborgare rätten till en bostad. Stat och kommun bör därför bära ett gemensamt ansvar för att förse även resurssvaga grupper med ett värdigt boende¹⁰¹.” (Sweden Democrats' assessment is that the market alone cannot guarantee all citizens the right to housing. Central and local government should carry a shared responsibility to provide even the economically weak with adequate housing) As we can see in the previous and the following quotes the SD, when mentioning or discussing topics involving private property, takes a rather balanced position between market economy and state-regulation. The SD sees a function for both and sees a necessity of both areas for the benefit of the Swedish welfare. The very slim discussion regarding private property does imply that this is not a primary concern for the SD or at least gives us no room for a deeper analysis.

The SVP's rhetoric, in their party program section regarding property, links very well with neoliberal policies. “Without a constitutional guarantee of property rights individual self-determination as well as free, prosperous and contented society are impossible. The guaranteed right of property is a precondition of every successful economic order¹⁰².” [sic] Here we can see that the SVP equates society with economic order and also private property's ultimate fulfillment of the individual to the possible fulfillment and content of society. This means that all individuals' and societies possibility for prosperity is connected to private property and the market economy which goes hand in hand with neoliberal policy. Further we can see that the SVP acknowledge state actions such as taxes, levies, deductions as a burden for the citizens which helps us assume that they propagate for the opposite form of action, market economy, for areas often regarded as controlled by the state. “Their ingenuity in finding new sources of state income through taxes, levies, fees and deductions is virtually limitless. Almost every left-wing activity is carried on at the cost of our citizens' property¹⁰³.”

The SVP further discusses the need for less bureaucracy in planning and construction law. “The SVP opposes bureaucratic planning and interventions that regulate each use down to the last detail and take no account of individual needs and competitive conditions¹⁰⁴.” As we can see in the previous quote and the following, regarding residential property, the most important issue regarding planning and construction is that the mechanisms of the free market can't operate freely which they, once again, connect to the “individual needs”. “The current

¹⁰¹SD 23:0:0:0:4

¹⁰²SVP 19:1:0:1:0

¹⁰³SVP 20:0:0:0:1

¹⁰⁴SVP 20:0:0:0:2

overregulation of tenancy law places severe restrictions on the working of the free market¹⁰⁵.” The SVP also opposes the construction of housing by the state and expresses that “So-called <<social housing constructions>> is profoundly antisocial, because it privileges a few while at the same time disadvantaging the many who do not enjoy those privileges¹⁰⁶.” In the previous quotes we can see that the SVP definitely puts the individual before the collective and also certain individuals before other individuals. Those who are economically more well off are more important to the party since the SVP opposes the construction of “social housing” in benefit for the free market. A clear view is presented; illustrating that all individuals have the same opportunity of becoming materially, economically well-off hence there’s no need for state involvement in the area regarding private property. “The SVP believes that unreasonable assaults on high levels of wealth and income weaken property and ultimately hurt those who are less well off.” Here we can see a form of “trickle-down” economic rhetoric which is in line with neoliberal policies. The theory holds the belief that tax reliefs for the wealthier in a society is to benefit all since their savings and investment will lead to investment and innovation. This will in the end create wealth for all stratum of society, even the lower ones¹⁰⁷.

The FPÖ “encourage achievements in a market economy with social responsibility, protect private property...¹⁰⁸”. In this first quote we can see that the FPÖ explicitly mentions private property, but in the following quote we can only notice it implicitly: “The prosperity of Austria achieved industriously over generations must be preserved for the future. It must be used predominantly for those people and their descendants who worked to achieve it.¹⁰⁹” In this quote we can perceive that they are talking about property but also that this property should be inherited. In this sense the FPÖ contrasts the common perception within neoliberalism that inheritance rights are to be removed in order for property and money to be more fluid in the market.

7.6 The role of the State

The PP shows a clear opposition against an “extensive” state which is repeatedly mentioned in their short opening of the “The Progress Party’s Principles”. The opening line states that:

¹⁰⁵ SVP 20:0:0:0:3

¹⁰⁶ SVP 20:0:0:0:3

¹⁰⁷ Saad-Filho, Alfredo & Johnston, Deborah (red.) (2005). p. 135

¹⁰⁸ FPÖ 9:1:0:1:0

¹⁰⁹ FPÖ 9:1:0:1:3

“The main aim is to greatly reduce taxes, public charges and government interference. Fundamental to our view of society is the belief in and respect for individual’s unique character and their right to decide over their own lives and finances¹¹⁰.” Here we can see a preference for a decreasing of the state power and increased empowering of the individual. “The power of the state must be limited in order to safeguard the individual’s rights and freedom of action. The government and state should not undertake tasks that can be performed equally well by individuals, companies and organizations. The PP’s rhetoric, in the previous quotes, regarding the role of the state, leaves no doubt that their policies are neoliberal which shows in the focus on a large deregulation of the states tasks.

The SD sees the role of the state slightly different than the two previously discussed parties. “Till statens kärnuppgifter räknar vi alla frågor som rör nationens säkerhet och oberoende, omhändertagandet av svaga och utsatta individer, lagarnas upprätthållande samt värnandet av nationens historiska arv och kulturella särart¹¹¹.” (To the state's core functions, we include all issues of national security and independence, the disposition of the weak and vulnerable individuals, law enforcement and the safeguarding of the nation's historical heritage and cultural uniqueness) Although who will, physically, perform the different tasks that the SD assigns the state to supervise is less important. “Huruvida det är stat eller kommun som bör handha en viss uppgift samt huruvida det är privat eller offentligt ägande eller en kombination av båda, som i en viss given sektor eller situation gagnar medborgarnas intressen bäst, eftersträvar vi att avgöra från fall till fall...” ”En central utgångspunkt är dock att beslut bör fattas på lägsta ändamålsenliga nivå¹¹².” (Whether it's state or municipal who should handle a particular task, and whether it is private or public ownership or a combination of both, in a given sector or situation which benefits the citizens' interests best, we strive to determine from case to case. A key point is that decisions should be taken at the lowest appropriate level). Here we can see some neoliberal connotations both in the aim of letting the most efficient actor run a certain sector and in the wish of further decentralization. The SD states that they do not care who performs the task as long as it’s the most efficient for the least amount of money to pay for the citizens. The SD labels this approach as: “pragmatiskt och resultatriktat¹¹³,” (pragmatic and results-oriented) but we would rather consider it neoliberal in its approach. Another SD approach that is influenced by neoliberal policies can be seen in

¹¹⁰PP 4:2:0:0:1

¹¹¹SD 13:1:0:0:4

¹¹²SD 13:1:0:0:6

¹¹³SD 13:1:0:0:6

the following quote: "Centralt för partiet är respekt för skattebetalarnas pengar och strävan efter ett minimum av byråkrati skall genomsyra all offentlig verksamhet."¹¹⁴ (Central to the party is respect for the taxpayers' money and the desire that a minimum of bureaucracy shall permeate all public activities) Here we can see neoliberal influenced rhetoric based on the discussion of a minimal bureaucracy in the public sector which will imply a dismantling of the state.

When we look at the section, in the SVP's party program that treats the role of the state the party states that: "Government regulations covering social insurances, employment law, health and safety at work and food hygiene alone generate costs of 4 billion francs. The SVP supports more freedom and less regulation..."¹¹⁵. The previous mentioned regulations all concern some form of security for the employed at work which shows the SVP's prioritization of enterprises and their possibility to operate freely over the employee's situation. The rhetoric is neoliberal in the sense that the individual is seen as fully responsible for his/her situation and choices and not a responsibility for the state. This can be read between the lines since the regulations that ought to be removed, that the SVP mentions in the previous quote, are all beneficial for the employed. They further focus on a critique towards the state in relation to creation of jobs. "Companies and trades have to battle their way through a jungle of government regulations which impairs their performance and competitiveness..." "The growing deluge of laws, ordinances and complicated tax invoicing procedures puts jobs at risk."¹¹⁶ Here we can see propagation for tax-reliefs and deregulation to simplify the process of trade and production for companies and in the long run increase competitiveness. A critical rhetoric regarding the size and scope of the state is a recurring theme in the SVP's political party program. The critique is first and foremost here aimed at the Swiss states inefficiency and the need for a downscaling of the same which we interpret as a neoliberal influenced rhetoric.

We can see that the FPÖ has a strong liberal base for their policies regarding the state and its role. They put the foremost role for the state as being security for its citizens against crime and disorder. "Decisions about the deployment of our army and our soldiers are made by Austria alone, as a sovereign and neutral state, aware of its responsibility for the security and

¹¹⁴SD 22:1:0:0:6

¹¹⁵SVP 29:1:0:1:1

¹¹⁶SVP 29:1:0:1:1

freedom of its citizens.¹¹⁷”The FPÖ also see that the role of the state is to educate people even though the state should refrain from intervening to much in the education, as we can see in the following quote: “The state must refrain from making ideological interventions into the autonomy of the sciences.¹¹⁸” As mentioned earlier their view on health-care is that it’s a state responsibility but only in funding. This is a deviation from the core liberal idea of a night-watchman state but they still bring us back to a neoliberal rhetoric when they want to subcontract parts of the welfare state.

Now we will summarize the conclusions we can draw from the analysis, regarding whether the parties can be seen as in support, ambivalent or antagonistic towards neoliberal policies.

7.8 Summary

	Market economy	Freedom	National Cultural Identity	Health-care	Property	The role of the state	Total
PP	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SD	+/-	-	-	+	-	+	-
SVP	+	+	+/-	+	+	+	+
FPÖ	+	+	-	-	-	+	+/-

The table here shows us an illustration of where the parties stand towards neoliberal policies in each category and also in total when we compile the categories.

¹¹⁷FPÖ 12:1:0:1:9
¹¹⁸FPÖ 13:1:0:1:5

PP:

As we can see in the charter the PP shows strong signs of preferring neoliberal policies in all the categories we used. In all categories their rhetoric aims at a deregulation of the state in benefit for the enhancement of the competitiveness of the free market which is in line with neoliberal policies.

SD:

The SD is the most antagonistic towards neoliberal policies out of the RRP's in our study. Their rhetoric and their policies sometimes have neoliberal tendencies but this is mixed with a nationalistic and a conservative view.

SVP:

The SVP has a strong focus on decentralization and bringing the politics down to the lowest possible level. They too, like the PP, are of the opinion that the state needs to be down-sized and express the importance of deregulation when it comes to several different spheres, for example, contractual building, the economy and health-care. As we can see in the charter above the SVP strongly prefers neoliberal policies in all but one category, the national and cultural identity, where they take an ambivalent position.

FPÖ:

The FPÖ shows signs of both preferring neoliberal policies and also taking an antagonistic stance towards the same. The categories where the FPÖ takes an antagonistic approach towards neoliberal policies are national and cultural identity, health-care and property.

8. Conclusion and discussion:

As mentioned in the section “previous research” the dominating part of demand-side theories has evolved around a belief that the RRP's of recent decades represents a countermovement, or at least a backlash, against neoliberal policies. This theory is based on the members and voters of these parties feeling *socially*, *economically* and *culturally* excluded due to the restructuring of these three spheres by neoliberal policies. The consequences of these neoliberal policies has made the members and voters of the RRP's “modernization losers” due to their inability to adjust themselves to the market-dominated discourse that we live in. In this study we wanted to see whether the RRP's themselves actually were influenced by

neoliberal policies and the result of our CDA shows that two-three parties at least can be seen as in support of neoliberal ideas and policies. Some parties, like the SVP, were very explicit in their rhetoric regarding their support for neoliberal policies but other parties, like the FPÖ, had a more indeterminate rhetoric. In the case, for example, with the FPÖ the CDA helped us detect neoliberal rhetoric through its critical stance and focus on language. The FPÖ's rhetoric and aims could have otherwise been bypassed as liberal but due to the focus on details, signs and specific words in CDA we could detect a partial neoliberal rhetoric in the FPÖ's party program.

That two-three of the RRP's analyzed in this study are in support of neoliberal policies is an important indication for future research on the current and previous electoral success of RRP's. Also, this means that they're probably more in line with the current dominating discourse of neoliberalism than what has been discussed within the academic field. We have some deviations with the FPÖ and the SD who takes an antagonistic stance towards neoliberal policies in some of the categories which may, in part, be answered by previous research which holds that the RRP's are of a reactionary art against neoliberalism. We can't establish any definite facts in response to our research questions due to the divided result. Also, our limitation within the empirical material, with a small selection of party programs, doesn't suffice to claim it as a representational selection for any generalization. But two parties out of four in support for neoliberal policies and one party with an ambivalent stance indicates a need for a more nuanced research within the field. What this result shows is that the current research in the academic field can't explain the electoral gain for the PP and the SVP since they have a highly neoliberal influenced rhetoric. A widening or a reorientation in some part in the research field of demand explanations is clearly of importance, which we can see from the result. All of the parties are in some manner influenced and in support of neoliberal policies which make it difficult to argue that all RRP's are losers of modernization, antagonistic towards neoliberalism. This stands in contrast to former research and shows the importance of demand-side research combined with supply-side research. In the CDA chapter of this study we express that Fairclough see text analysis as insufficient if not merged with an analyzed social context to the produced text. This study has researched in demand theory, in the research field regarding the RRP's, since it works out of the belief that macrostructural processes affect the microstructural processes which in this case the RRP's represents. Just as Fairclough concludes that there is need for a complementing social context to the CDA this study concludes that the research field needs to combine demand theory with supply theory,

which focuses on the local context, to be able to see both the macro and the micro influence on the RRP's electoral gain in recent years. This study shows that there is need for another form of theory that is able to take an intersectional approach, in order to gain a fuller understanding, of the issue. Further research should focus on a combining of demand and supply-theory. This should be done in order to get a better understanding of what the parties are influenced of and from where. The combination will help explain deviations among the parties' electoral successes. As mentioned under theoretical terms and definitions, demand-side theory can't explain why two politically similar parties have a large difference in electoral success which can depend upon a supply-side factor such as, for example, majority vote. An application of CDA on the empiric material allows further research to critically analyze the macro and the micro discourses influence on the RRP's electoral development.

A limitation in this study has been that we've only analyzed West European countries that may be more influenced by neoliberal policies than if we would have incorporated countries from, for example, East Europe. One could argue that the RRP's of West European countries are more influenced by neoliberalism to the degree that many of the neoliberal policies have been accepted as common knowledge. This could be a possible explanation for the overall large support for neoliberal policies that this study showed. But still, the results of this study indicate a support for neoliberal policies within the analyzed RRP's. This opens up for further research that would include non-western RRP's, to be able to establish a more distinct result to the question of this study.

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Appendix

The Progress Party - _

<http://www.frp.no/filestore/THEPROGRESSPARTYSPRINCIPLES2009-2013.pdf>

The Sweden Democrats - _

https://sverigedemokraterna.se/files/2012/03/principprogram_A5_web.pdf

The Swiss People's Party – <http://www.svp.ch/display.cfm/id/101395>

The Freedom Party of Austria - _

http://www.fpoe.at/fileadmin/Content/portal/PDFs/_dokumente/2011_graz_parteiprogramm_englisch_web.pdf